1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Nas, ten ajyton nelkilikwan ilo-mono le-'a-gay nailgwa,ntje: 'Enitwayo le-'ariani'; anki 'E'mwa le-'ariani.'

Ntje lakwa: "L-oilalg ake"; anki, 'E-ariani ake.'

Ten ainmore 'l-mooroa lo-'l-Masai 'l-paiyani, nemeitar dirotiki, 'l-paiyani ake meitar dirotiki, ntje, ten aa kemok il-mooroa: "L-aiye."

Ntje 'l-mooroa: 'Oo.'

Ntje 'l-paiyani: 'Enkaatpai.'

Ntje [illegible]: 'Ikye.'

Ten oilgwa 'l-mooroa en-gay nainkwa, pe aisi il-paiyani ti-enio, aeyoo 'l-mooroa oilalg ing-aik, aitoo ino-kuta enye, ntje 'l-paiyani: 'E'gesuk.'

Ore y' oilgwaikitoo, naiorotiki 'l-paiyani 'l-mooroa, ntje: "L-aiye."

Ntje 'l-mooroa: 'Oo.'

Ntje 'l-paiyani: 'Enkaatpai.'

Ntje 'l-mooroa: 'Ikye.'

Kake etoo en-naiorotikitoo tunia te-kwana-oladgi aore ten aisi il-mooroa il-paiyani, naiorotiki ntje: 'Enkaatpai lenyenya-i'; kake 'l-Parkie ntje ntje. Ejo 'l-Kimogo ten dirotiki 'l-paiyani: 'Enkaatpai, 'l-paiyani kitook'; anki ejo: 'Enkaatpai, le-tumoi.'

Ten etoma enyeny, naiorotiki ntje: 'Enkaatpai, le-tumoi.'

Then, if it is desired to ask the news of the country from whence the people come, they are asked: 'Do you bring good tidings?' or 'Do you relate good news?' 596

They reply: 'Only the things which are good,' or simply, 'Good news only.'

When Masai warriors meet old men, the latter start the greetings. If there are many warriors, the old men call to them and say: 'Friends.'

To this the warriors reply: 'Yes.'
The elders then say: 'Enkaatpai.'
And the warriors answer all together: 'Ikye.'

When warriors come from a distant country and see some elders outside a kraal, they go up to them, and take their hands, at the same time thrusting their spears into the earth. The elders then say to them: 'Greeting.'

When they have dropped one another's hands, the elders say to the warriors: 'Friends,' and the warriors answer: 'Yes.' The elders then give the usual salutation: 'Enkaatpai,' to which the warriors reply all together: 'Ikye.'

Nowadays, however, the warriors do not wait to be greeted by the elders, and call out 'Enkaatpai, O ye fathers!' As may note the so-called El-burgon Masai do this. When the warriors of the Kimogo Masai greet the elders first, they say: 'Enkaatpai, O elders!' or 'Enkaatpai, O old people!' [illegible]

When old people meet one an-

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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En-giyama.

[313] Ten eiyamisho 'l-Maasa, nelgus sayeu sanir en-dito ɛton e kiti, ne'ya ol-kumbun.

Ore ɣ' eaku en-dito kitter, naitiki ɛiya en-aisho e ol-kumbun. Notun lido eiyamisho.

Ore ɣ' eaku enuretti en-dito, naitiki eiya en-aisho, nemuretti.

Ore pe-aishio, nerto 'n-glaku e'ng-eputi, 'n-dauwa uni, e ol-kitatig teiku 'n-dauwa, e ol-kitatig le-kutuk-eji. Ne'ya en eng-ennito enye en-aisho, nerolwa.

Ore lido-kitatig teiku 'n-dauwa tee ninye elmolye ol-eputani ejo Pukitatig.

Ore ɣ' eaku elitu arik e-ligutiyini enye, nerto 'n-dauwa uni (il-kerra nare e e-ɛnyan e'n-gurr), nɛimolye ɛlg-eputani ejo Pukurr.

Ilyatig lidwa-kerra pukimare en kulikua nare le-mampe e'n-dito.

Marriage[1].

When a Masai wishes to marry, he commences his courtship by making love to a girl while she is still young, and by presenting some tobacco to her father.

He then waits until the girl grows up, when he again offers presents of honey and tobacco.

More honey is given to the father at his daughter's circumcision.

On the young woman's recovery the man proceeds to his future father-in-law's kraal, and takes with him the dowry, viz. three heifers and two bullocks, one of the latter being said to keep the heifers company, whilst the other is slaughtered at the door of the hut. His sister also takes a pot of honey and accompanies him.

The bullock which accompanies the heifers is given to the bride's father in order that the two men may call one another Pukitang, i.e. the giver and receiver of a bullock, or father and son-in-law.

When the time arrives for the husband to fetch his wife, he takes with him three sheep (two rams and a young ewe). The ewe he presents to the mother to enable them to call one another Pukurr, i.e. the giver and receiver of a sheep, or mother and son-in-law.

The two rams are slaughtered together with two others, which the girl's father provides.

[314] [1] Formerly no Masai was able to marry until he had been on several raids, but nowadays they leave the ranks of the warriors (il-murran) and settle down as married men (il-meirunik) at a comparatively early age.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Ore 'n-gulye-tíkitin náinoi.

Enyai il-mórnak oo 'Ngorôyok ol-kumbau áitaibulaki e-makat o ol-kumbau loo-'l-murran. Netii 'l-oock too-'n-gumeshi ol-kumbau oidoñgo, ntji en-giangi. Netii sii kulikae oock too-'l-mtôto.

Êok sii 'l-murran, kake mtok pôkin. Menyaai ninje 'l-eyok araki 'n-doiye ol-kumbau, nemtok; etomi aka.

Metumil-Maasai ol-kumbau, anu maiyûio satuturu; kake ainyañgu too-'l-meek, ôinoiye eng-erno oo 'n-dare taasti.

Meniraki 'l-Maasai 'l-meek in-giaku supati, 'n-giaku olepia aka oo nemeata kulla, oo náiba 'l-aabo, ninje aka emiraki 'l-meek, oo 'n-dare mórnak oo 'n-daasti.

Ntok sii 'l-mórnak in-aishi, nainyañgu 'l-marnan o en-jai too-'l-meek.

'N-gera aka náince en-aisho najon. Pôki en-dôki nainoe il-mórnak te-'n-aisho najon il-changaro aka.

in gourds. Some drink it pure; others mix it with milk[1].

There are a few other things which the Masai eat.

Some old men and women chew tobacco mixed with salt and *Osimum suave*, whilst others sniff ground tobacco up their nostrils: this latter is called snuff. Others again smoke pipes.

Those of the warriors who like it also take snuff. The boys and girls, however, neither take snuff nor chew tobacco[2].

The Masai do not grow tobacco themselves, for they do not know how to dig. They buy it from savages, exchanging it for butter and lean goats.

The Masai do not sell good cattle to the savages; they only give them barren cows, or those which have no milk, or which do not care for their calves. These and old or lean goats and sheep are the only animals they part with.

The old men drink honey-wine, and they purchase from the savages two kinds of beer, called Ol-marua and En-jai.

It is only the children who like wild honey: old men eat the comb full of grubs[3].

[1] This custom is also common among the Bari (Kaufmann, *Schilderungen*, p. 170).

[2] In olden days it was the privilege of rich old men and their chief wives only to take tobacco, which was called *ol-chani loo-'ng-enyuk*, the eye-medicine.

[3] The Masai obtain their honey by following the *Sweetus indicator* bird.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Enyor oli 'n-gura 'l-ñgunai-yuk naishu, eiwa oli 'l-tuñgunuk kituak, kake nuna naishu.

Nemoiwo il-Masai kulyo-tikitin ope, eiwa eata 'n-giako, kake eiwatta taata 'n-daiki pikin oo-'l-muok, anaa 'l-puok, o ol-mishili, oo 'l-murika, oo 'n-gulye-daiki o'n-gop, anu nanin 'n-giako kumuk anaa ope.

Piki en-diki nemoiwo, e-muiwa aka. Nemoiwo il-mitityi, oo 'singir'[2], oo 'n-giri oo-'l-chañgit.

Children are very fond of various kinds of fruit, which are also eaten by the old people, but the latter do not care for them very much. 262

Formerly the Masai, when they had plenty of cattle, ate no other kind of food, but nowadays they often have to eat savages' food, such as maize, rice, bananas, and cereals, for they no longer own the vast herds which they formerly possessed[1]. [198]

They, however, do not eat everything. They eat neither birds, nor fish, nor the flesh of wild animals.

Il-chañgit.

Kenya 'l-Masaae 'l-chañgit ope eiwa eata 'n-giako pikin; kake oiter kulikae ilinoo taata 'l-chañgit anaa 'l-Torrobo, anu ainoriaio 'n-giako.

Ten tar il-ayok il-ainoo, naa 'l-ala ake eitaani, nepwai nanir nainoyaki 'n-giako.

Naa, ten tari 'l-nitiwani, naa ol-chitai eitaani, p' eitenya 'l-maroo il-inkpi, nainni oli 'ntwarak, p' eitai 'n-giñañgita naishuñgyaki 'nashon. Naitoo oli 'l-olonook in-giñañgita naapika 'nitto le-'n-aibon.

Wild animals.

The Masai ate the flesh of no wild animals when in olden days they all had cattle; but some of those who have lost all their cattle are now beginning to eat venison, like the Dorobo. [178]

If Masai boys kill elephants, they only take the tusks, which they exchange for cattle.

When buffaloes are killed, the hide and the horns are kept. From the former the warriors make their shields, and from the latter mortars are cut in which medicines are ground. The medicine-men also use the horns to put stones in for their prophecies. 239 [214] [215] [187]

[1] It was recently estimated that the Masai in the Naivasha Province own [illegible] head of cattle and [illegible] goats and sheep. Those living in the Ukamba Province and in German East Africa are, however, much poorer, most of their cattle having died of rinderpest some years ago. [233] [184]

[2] The northern Masai sometimes use o-singir (pl. i-singiri) for a fish. The southern invariably use o-singiri (pl. i-singir).

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Sir Charles Eliot's report.

In his report on the East Africa Protectorate, dated the 10th of June, 1901, Sir Charles Eliot describes the Masai as " perhaps the most remarkable people in East Africa. . . . . The greater number are still warlike nomads, who roam about over the Rift Valley and the plains between Kilima Njaro and Nairobi. . . . .

" The spread of law and order has somewhat curtailed their exploits, but the men are still all warriors by profession. . . . . .

" The Masai are found in both German and British territory. When the last Chief, Batyan, died, a dispute arose between his sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, as to the succession, and the tribe was divided. The former is now recognised as Chief of the Masai in the British sphere, and the latter of those in the German. Sendeyo has several times had trouble with the German authorities, but has always been defeated. Fortunately for us, Lenana's familiar spirit advised him that he had better make peace with the white men, because they were invincible, and he has proved our best friend and ally among the natives. In return, he receives £6 13s. 4d. a month, which is a very moderate stipend for a monarch of such considerable powers, both real and imaginary. Though I see no reason to anticipate that Lenana will change his present attitude, I regard the Masai as the most important and dangerous of the tribes with whom we have to deal in East Africa, and I think it will long be necessary to maintain an adequate military force in the districts which they inhabit."

At this date, the Masai in the East Africa Protectorate had been placed in a district of their own, called the Masailand District, whose headquarters were at Nairobi.

Incorporation of Uganda Province in East Africa Protectorate.

By an Order of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated the 5th of March, 1902, the Kisumu and Naivasha Provinces of the Uganda Protectorate were included in the East Africa Protectorate, and the Naivasha Masai therefore came under the control of the latter Protectorate.

Uganda Railway.

The construction of the Uganda Railway was commenced in 1895, and the line reached the Lake in 1901. Throughout the construction period the Masai gave no trouble whatsoever to the workers on the line.

Sir Charles Eliot's report, April, 1902.

In his report on the East Africa Protectorate, dated the 18th of April, 1902, Sir Charles Eliot writes :—

" I agree with those who do not think the Masai are a formidable element in East Africa. It would, of course, be unwise to irritate them, and there is always some danger of misunderstandings in dealing with a people of whose language we are profoundly ignorant. But it appears to me that, even within the last year, the Masai have become more amenable. They have taken to wearing red blankets, and the astonishing exhibitions of nudity, which were common a year ago, are now comparatively rare. Lenana even wears a greatcoat and is one of the judges at the Nairobi cattle show."

Later in his report he writes :— " The troops, which are under the direct management of the Military Department of this Protectorate, form the 3rd Battalion of the King's African Rifles . . . . . One company at Nairobi is composed of Masai. There is no doubt of the warlike powers of this tribe under their own system, but military authorities differ as to their qualifications for service in a disciplined army. Colonel Hatch's last report on their capabilities is, however, very favourable, and his only criticism on them is that they cannot stand service on the coast. There are many advantages in employing the Masai as soldiers and police, for they are little disposed to cultivate, and if we are effectively to stop their ancient occupation of cattle raiding, we must give them something else to do. In some ways they answer very well : they are extraordinarily active, and have better notions of honour and loyalty than most tribes, but it would clearly be rash to trust too much to Masai troops and Masai police in Masailand."

The following quotations are made from the Protectorate Annual Report for the year 1903-1904:—

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"About the beginning of September last, it was reported that the Masai contemplated a wholesale raid into the Kisii country; the adoption of prompt measures, however, both in this province" (Ukamba) "and at Naivasha, prevented any carrying out of their intentions. Since that time they have been quiet, with the exception of a party belonging to the Matapato section, which secretly organized a small expedition some two or three months ago; the kraal concerned was fined, and the 'laguaan,' or head warrior, is now a fugitive, the raid having been unsuccessful. With the exception of these two incidents, the conduct of this tribe has been satisfactory. . . . . "

"Nothing of great political importance has occurred in this district" (Naivasha District, Masailand) "during the year. In the autumn of 1903, the Masai held a large circumcision festival on the plains of Kinoppop (or Kinangop). This was attended by several thousand tribesmen, and it was thought by some that the event would be commemorated by the dispatch of a large party to raid Lumbwa, Kisii, and, possibly, the German territory at the back of Thiraiti. Though the idea was discredited by those on the spot, it was considered advisable to make a military demonstration in the neighbourhood of Naivasha to discourage any breaches of the peace. At any rate, the ceremonies on Kinoppop passed over without incident. Curiously enough, about this time, a large war party of Masai did raise a raid on the country east of Thiraiti, but, owing to warnings sent by us in anticipation of such an event, little damage was done, and the raiders were dispersed by the German troops. Our German neighbours appeared to be under the impression that Senteo organized this raid, but what 'elmoran,' or warriors, formed the war party seems to remain in obscurity. The elders of what may be termed the Naivasha Masai are undoubtedly loyal, and will do their best to discourage raids by the elmoran.

[561]

"The executive officials in this district who may be considered to be in the confidence of the tribe, report that the elders discuss the question of raiding quite frankly, and often enquire what is to become of the poorer elmoran, who have no live-stock, and thus cannot marry and settle down as 'Ilmoru,' or Elders, and now raiding is forbidden, do not see how they are to acquire wealth. Numbers of these earn a base livelihood by herding the property of their richer friends, others serve in the King's African Rifles and police force, and these in regular Government employ, steadily save enough to start them in married life. It is probable that a partial solution of this problem lies in the formation of a labour bureau, the object of which will be to find suitable employment for the poorer elmoran and 'Ilnish,' or youths, who have not attained the status of warrior."

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As distinct from the Masai Reserve, the history of which forms the subject of Chapter III., the early history of the Masai contains little further of interest. The administrative steps which have been taken on their account from time to time have been treated separately in the following chapters, and Masai raids may be said to have ceased after the year 1895, the last year in which they carried out a successful expedition against another tribe in the Protectorate. Their more recent raids against German territory, are referred to in Chapter VII.

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Population 162

With regard to the potentialities of the Masai as a tribe, it must be borne in mind that the total population of the Masai in the Masai Reserve numbers no more than 43,000. Of these, it may be assumed that about 20,000 are males of all ages, while some 4,500 are Muran. Taking the proportion normally maintained among other native tribes, for which more accurate statistics are obtainable, it is found that approximately 10,000 males are boys under the age of the Muran class, while the remaining 5,500 are elders. It will thus be seen that the tribe under consideration is relatively small in regard to population, and that, therefore, specialisation will be necessary if the attributes of the tribe are to be utilized to their fullest capacity.

Conservatism 181

Sufficient has already been said of the conservatism and slothfulness which are the dominating characteristics of the Masai. The state of idleness in which both young and old live has proved a barrier to progress which has resisted all efforts made in the past to introduce development on civilized lines. The only measure which has attained to any degree of success in the establishment of trading centres, where a carefully controlled trade has opened the eyes of the Masai to a small extent to the advantages of imported articles, and has created some desire on their part to invest a proportion of their enormous capital in trade goods. Even so, it appears that they have not been induced to desire anything more progressive than flour, sugar, and honey in the way of food, and such imported articles as umbrellas, blankets, cotton sheeting, knives, axes, and cooking pots. They are still in a most primitive state.

Employment for the Morans 178 ● 464 561

The semi-military organisation which has been handed down by their ancestors is still preserved, and continues to act as a deterrent to any innovation. Now that raids are ended, the Muran have nothing to occupy their attention, and it is this fact that has rendered it necessary to consider the possibilities of developing them into useful citizens along a definite line of policy, rather than to adopt merely normal administrative pressure, which has been so successful among the other tribes of the Protectorate. Of their own free will, the Masai will do nothing except fight with the weapons they know, and the young men of between sixteen and twenty-five years of age have now no occupation of any description. It is on behalf of these youths, the Muran, that the first steps in the necessary policy must be taken.

Herds 464 561

It is known that, by their training from their earliest years, the Muran are experts in the handling of stock. Each boy has been accustomed to herd hundreds of head of cattle since the days when he started to walk, and there is probably no other nation in the world that can boast such a measure of success in this branch of knowledge. But, after circumcision and the assumption of the status of warrior, the youth leaves the care of stock to younger boys, and his ability in this direction is thereby wasted.

The Employment Question [461]

It is said that about fifteen per cent. of the Masai of the Muran class are employed by various farmers in herding cattle, but, even to this extent, the value of their services is largely discounted by the aversion which they show to the performance of work which they consider to be derogatory to their dignity - and the limits of what is not undignified are very materially confined. Manual labour of any kind is regarded as objectionable, and the Masai are physically incapable of carrying loads. But, if they are given a wage high enough to satisfy their avarice, if they are considerately treated, and if they regard the climate of their employer's land as suitable, they cannot be improved upon as cattle herds. [497]

Demand for such labour.

In normal times, the number of settlers in the Protectorate who would make use of this class of labour is not large, and the demand for public purposes is smaller still, while the utility of the Masai as a whole in this connection is greatly diminished by their dislike of working for a European whom they do not know, and by the weakness of their constitution, which renders them suitable for work in a restricted area only. In order to make the Masai suitable for general employment even as cattle herds, therefore, it is necessary either to alter their conception of their dignity so as to make their services of more general application, or else to insist on their performing for a smaller remuneration the work that they will consent to do.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

authority always tended to break down in face of the lawless and independent spirit of the Moran. In 1918 the Headmen numbered 46, of whom 28 were unpaid, and 18 received pay ranging from £6 to £36 a year, the former Paramount having a special pay of £90. Fourteen of the 18 paid Headmen were presidents of the Native Councils, and following the custom adopted in many other parts of Kenya, they were given the courtesy title of Chief.

SUBSEQUENT CHANGES IN THE SYSTEM

In the period that has passed since this system was introduced, there have been changes which have to some measure affected the structure of Masai society. The restraint exercised on cattle raiding has robbed the military organization of its former importance, while the growing value of cattle and sheep has enhanced the position of the wealthier stockholders, who now constitute, together with some men of hereditary prestige, an aristocratic element with an acknowledged leadership in Masai society. In other respects the Masai hold tenaciously to their customary institutions and mode of life, and the Moran in particular retain the tradition of indiscipline (in all but a military sense) and the aversion to labour which characterized them in the past.

The Government has in the interval effected changes also in the system of native administration above referred to, with the view of adjusting it more nearly to the pattern followed in other parts of Kenya. The Central Masai Council and the 14 Native Councils gave place in 1930 to two Local Native Councils, at Narok and Kajiado, which have now been formally constituted under the provisions of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937. The system of tribunals has also been revised, as will be further explained below.[1] The Headmen have been divided into two grades, Headmen and subheadmen, of whom the former have the courtesy title of Chief. They now derive their powers from the Native Authority Ordinance of 1937.

The 16 Headmen have a pay ranging from 17s. to 70s. a month, and the 28 subheadmen a pay ranging from 10s. to 32s. 50 cents a month. Practically all the Headmen or subheadmen are stockholders, and represent the ruling Age-Grade in each of the different Sections; very few of them are educated or literate and only a few can speak Swahili. The Headmen and subheadmen constitute the executive agency of the District administration and of the Local Native Councils, and they are in addition charged with the collection of the native Poll Tax. That is a task which they are said to discharge with some efficiency, though as will be shown subsequently in dealing with the administration of the Tribunals, there are numerous cases of the evasion of tax. The Chiefs can call on the services of a small number of Tribal Police, recruited and controlled by the District Commissioner. Up to 1943 the Tribal Police were the only force of this nature in the Province, but since that year a unit of the Kenya Police Force has been stationed in the Narok district, largely in view of the prevalence of stock thefts.

THE LOCAL NATIVE COUNCILS

Of the two Local Native Councils, that at Narok has 10 nominated and 23 elected members, and that at Kajiado 10 nominated and 14 elected. There is, however, little difference in practice between the nominated and elected members, since all are in fact selected by the District Commissioner after

[1] Page 175.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

C. Modern adaptation of the Laibonate — increase in local ceremonies — payment of fees — right to demand girls — extra-tribal contacts attitude of Masai to Laibon and spiritual matters in general — conclusions.

178 791 The main factor altering the position of the laibon is the enforced prohibition of cattle raiding. As pointed out above, the supply of charms for cattle raiding was one of the Laibon's chief functions. The first effect of this change was to reduce the laibon's status, in addition to cutting off his main source of income. Some continued to draw glory and dividends by continuing the practice in secret, others, more loyal to the new order, sought for something to replace this loss. It is difficult to assess which motive was uppermost, love of power or greed for cattle, but whichever it was, the reaction was the same. It consisted of an intensification of another of their main functions, viz. providing charms for, and prescribing the ritual for, local ceremonies. This is thought to have been less important in the old days, but it is now the laibon's chief function and principal source of income, and as such merits attention.

791 The nature of the ceremonies has already been briefly described and with regard to their frequency, it is improbable that a year passes without some ceremony or other taking place in every area of the district. An aspect not yet touched upon is that of the method of collecting the fees paid to the Laibon.

791 561 In respect of the cattle paid for the *age grade ceremonies* their number seems to be laid down either by custom or by the laibon himself, (I am not sure which). They are collected by general agreement from the members of the age concerned, after long discussion. A point of interest is that members of the Engidong clan are not expected to contribute, but may add a 'present' of their own, e.g. in one instance encountered, in the proportion of 8 Engidong cattle to 40 from other clans. But what is very striking about these levies is that the Masai in general are seldom sure for what they are paying. When enquiring about a known mob of cattle, one may be told that they are the fees being paid by the Dwati age in respect of their Ngeherr ceremony, or by others that they represent payment by the Dareto age in respect of their Unoto, or promotion. One can only conclude that the general public do not really know for what they are paying; they have been told to contribute cattle, and do so without further enquiry.

791 789 In the matter of *local ceremonies* the situation is different. The idea of holding such a ceremony frequently arises from an old man having a run of bad luck — his cattle or children dying, or his wives not giving birth. He calls a number of his neighbours together, they discuss the situation and decide that a visit to the laibon is indicated — thus the movement starts. Other local ceremonies may be sought when the area in general is affected by drought or disease, or again the laibon himself may remind an area that he has not heard from them for some time. This may be done, for example, in the following manner: when the laibon is throwing the bones or is in a trance deciding some matter for a Naberera deputation, he will suddenly switch round and say, "I see the Moibo people

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

After going through the ceremony, the new elders can drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry about short bladed spears (*embere sero*) in place of the long polished warrior's spear; in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned.

On return to their homes those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers are still alive, move off from the paternal boma; for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters.

From the foregoing it may be concluded that the average Masai male spends at least 10 years of his life as a moran. What are his economic duties and privileges during this period? In olden times his primary duty was to defend the country and, by raiding other tribes, to maintain and increase the cattle population. But European intervention has deprived him of his main occupation, and the only duties which the moran by custom seem bound to perform to-day are (a) drawing water from wells for his father's cattle or superintending their watering at flowing streams, (b) cutting the thorn tree branches which form the fence of the boma, and (c) escorting home night-bound cattle or searching for lost beasts. It was natural that few everyday tasks should be imposed on the standing army, but although the military duties are now in abeyance, the moran have retained the privilege of freedom from responsibility together with many other perquisites. These include access to the unmarried girls and the right to demand milk in any boma. In the matter of bullocks for slaughter in *ol pul*, the camp at which the moran may alone eat meat, the warriors seem to have a fairly free hand; if an elder withholds his consent, his moran son (with friends) will frequently help himself. It is not improbable that with the prohibition of raiding the moran exert these privileges in greater degree than they used to. If the elders are to be believed they spent a considerable portion of their time as warriors absent from home on raids, living in the bush on stolen cattle preparatory to stealing more. Consequently the time which they spent wandering round the bomas making their demands must have been considerably curtailed.

Another duty, or rather, restriction placed on the moran was abstinence from tobacco and beer. The former is largely breaking down, but fortunately the latter still holds to a considerable extent. This is not so with the Arusha, amongst whom drunken brawls between groups of moran are not infrequent.

The above largely refers to the unmarried moran; once they settle down, even before the ngeherr ceremony, their mode of life is practically indistinguishable from that of a newly made elder.

Elderhood is in itself marked by different stages, each of which has its own privileges and responsibilities. The members of the generation immediately above that of the moran are mostly concerned in family matters, establishing their own gates, marrying and performing ceremonies to ensure the fertility of their wives. The generation next above the most junior elders, as explained earlier in this chapter, is responsible for the

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

The organisation of these deputations is actually a magico-religious rather than a political duty — that is, from our point of view — to the Masai it is just one aspect of the general theme of ensuring peace and prosperity to the area. 624

It will also be noted that there are very few duties which might be called executive. The laigwanan does not enforce judgments, or visit bomas collecting cattle for the laibon — the matters are discussed in open baraza and the weight of public opinion compels the individual to act as required. When this fails there is nothing to take its place. This explains why the laigwanak often make unsatisfactory paid headmen. Frequently the action required of a headman has not got this necessary weight of public opinion behind it, and consequently there is no indigenous method of enforcing an order. 626 624

The relations between senior laigwanak and their juniors are very lax. It is probable that this is due to the prohibition of raiding and consequent reduction of the occasions on which large-scale communal efforts are required. In the old days when large groups of moran got together for raids the senior laigwanak must of necessity have asserted his position, and the others must have obeyed him, to ensure the success of the venture. With decreased opportunities of asserting his position, it is natural that the power of the laigwanan should itself decrease. 624 178

Another tendency to be noted is the manner in which laigwanak move from their areas, more especially during elderhood. A senior laigwanan of the Kiteto lives at Naberera, one from Engare Nanyuki at Ngorongoro, another from Engaruka at Piaya ,each at least a hundred miles away from the people they are supposed to lead. This is only another aspect of the break-up of the sections previously recorded, but it does illustrate the loss of old loyalties.

C. **Other officials — the launon — magico-religious position — his duties — the ol buro engene — the losurutya.**

At the unoto, or promotion ceremony, there is chosen an official known as the Launon, — *ol aunoni* pl. *il aunok*, — or Olotuno. He is acknowledged by all the sections which attend the unoto, as their ceremonial or religious head. The position is not popular, so the candidate has to be installed by compulsion. After appointment the launon takes on the mode of living of an elder, being given a wife and cattle by his age-set. 561 624

The duties of the position are obscure, but as far as is known the launon appears to be a sort of scape-goat for the age. If he flourishes and begets many children, and if his cattle prosper and increase, it is a bad omen for the rest of the age. But his adversity will indicate the age's prosperity. [187]

He must do everything in advance of his age-mates, marry, settle down, make the final payment that binds the marriage. It is as though the moran, standing on the brink of elderhood, send forth the launon as an explorer into the unknown country, so that any bad luck which may be awaiting them shall be focussed on one individual and not on the whole age.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

614 a woman of his own clan. But in certain cases groups of sub-clans within the clan may inter-marry (as shown on the chart), but when this occcurs certain payments called *enganyit* are made.

The true status of the Laitayok is discussed elsewhere (Sect. 1) their clans are shown on the chart separate from the main body of Masai clans.

423 614 628 One of the most important aspect of the clan system lies in the ownership of waters. It appears that in the old days, when a new country was conquered, each moran, so far as he was able, claimed a water on behalf of his clan. Thus all the Naberera and other Central Masai wells are in clan ownership, as also are the springs round Losogonoi, Kibaya, etc. The senior member of the clan resident on the water is in control, and, in consultation with the other local clansmen, determines the order of watering.

The main practical application of this knowledge is that in effect the users of the water form a council for the settlement of disputes, under the 'chairmanship' of the owner. For example at Landanai a dispute arose as follows:—

A migrating Masai may demand, and must be given, water at any well or spring, when actually on the move, drinking in priority to any local cattle. A moran claimed this privilege at Landanai, the elder who was watering his cattle refused, and a fight ensued. The local users of the water reached one decision in the matter in the absence of the 'owner' of the water; when he heard of this he was furious, called another meeting, and the original decision was reversed.

In other words, when waters are in clan ownership, there is a definite system of settling disputes arising from the use thereof; further, as the clansmen frequently meet on the water, other matters — marriage, debt, etc. — come up for settlement before the tribunal.

The value of these tribunals should not be overstressed, since in many cases waters are not in clan ownership; where water is abundant, as in a river or furrow, the water is communal, (*engare loongishu*): in other areas where recent migration has ousted the original owners, the clan system does not apply.

[84-178]

614 In certain areas clan feeling manifests itself in other ways. For instance at Laitokitok in Kenya the Molelian and Laitayok have separate manyattas, and act independently in certain tribal matters. Near Loliondo it was found to be of great political advantage when the Laitayok were given a headman of their own. In the course of this survey, only one other clan concentration was discovered, namely the Laitayok at Engasumet, where this clan forms two-thirds of the total population. Local government can, therefore, be given a strong clan bias in that area, and in other areas which may be found in future to contain large numbers of a single clan.

614 422 The feeling that the clan owns jointly all cattle in possession of the clansmen manifests itself in numerous ways. For instance, members of the Engidong clan are not supposed to contribute to the cattle taken by deputations to the laibon — himself an Engidong — but may add a present of their own. When blood-money is paid, it is less when the

10: Elliott U-5 (no date) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

THE COIFFEUR OF THE MASAI WARRIOR

By H. F. I. Elliott

It is surprising to find that in Hollis' standard work on the Masai there is no precise description of the head gear of the 'moran' or warrior. No doubt the fashion has been described somewhere, but some details of present day practice in Tanganyika Masailand may perhaps be put on record here.

Of all the distinctive features of the Masai, this is the one which attracts most attention from the casual traveller and invites references to 'Roman Centurions', 'Red Indians' and the like. Its advertisement value is certainly considerable and not ignored by the Masai in their conscious or unconscious efforts to preserve their identity. Certainly removal of the coiffeur and its concomitant red ochre has a surprising effect in obliterating Hamitic characteristics of feature and bringing out those derived from the new liberal admixture of 'Bantu' blood.

It is still so customary for youths after circumcision to adopt the traditional garb, even though they may be sons of progressive parents and themselves have been to school, that there might well be an 'old school pigtail' for graduates of the Masai school. It is by no means unusual to hear a pair of pig-tailed and ochred 'moran' discussing their performances in some inter-house football match of their school days, while leaning on their spears in the precincts of a cattle market.

There are many varieties of head gear to be found in Tanganyika, one, two, three or more pigtails, the 'ridged helmet' style, heavily plastered and loosely braided styles, but it seems to be purely a matter of fashion and not linked with clan, section, age set or even locality (except in so far as fashions naturally tend to be localised). The construction of all is basically the same and the result is covered by the single term 'Ol daika'.

The materials used in the head gear are as follows:

(i) a length or lengths of pliant but straight stick one foot to fifteen inches long, cut from the tree known as 'O-siteti (*Tamarindus indica* L.; the name is also applied to the shrub *Grewia* which may serve the same purpose at highland altitudes).

(ii) a strip of the inner skin of a sheep an inch wide and two or more feet in length.

(iii) several feet of fine string made from ox gut or tendon.

(iv) a foot or two of cord made from the 'ol-reteti' tree. This tree is, I think, correctly identified by Hollis with a species of fig, *Ficus Hochstetteri*, the cord being prepared from the aerial rootlets. But there is some doubt in the matter which perhaps a reader of this note may get an opportunity to clear up. For Battiscombe

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

684 *Boyhood. Sex Life.*—In past times uncircumcised boys were severely punished by the warriors if they had sexual intercourse with a girl of any sort. This is no longer the case, probably because the warriors are afraid of Government interference should they ill-treat the boys. [178] [648]

Should an uncircumcised boy have intercourse with a married woman he may, when his time comes to be circumcised, fail to find an elder who will sit behind him according to custom and hold him during the operation, but may have to sit unsupported. In an instance which I observed a boy who had so offended was circumcised in due form on payment of a fine of four oxen. [304]

881 561 The elders who decide when a new circumcision is to take place are those of the *Ol-Piron* generation to that which is about to be circumcised.

Ol-Piron means a firestick, and its significance is explained below under organization of generations and ages.

Ceremony of Seizing the Ox by the Horns.—The Masai call this ceremony *Embolosat o ol-Giteng*, which means the tearing of the ox. *Ol-Giteng* is the general word for an ox and is not confined to the one used at the ceremony. It must be performed first by the Il Kakonyuki section. I have not seen it performed.

881 *Circumcision.*—I will endeavour to describe a circumcision as I saw it. On my arrival a few minutes before sunrise the two boys who were candidates were standing naked and shivering outside one of the village gates. They had previously been completely shaved. An old man poured a little water over each from a pannikin. Ox hides were brought out and each boy sat on one. Each boy was held by an elder sitting behind him. They were just outside the village with their backs to the thorn fence which encircles the village. The operator appeared and circumcised each in turn. He was a Kikuyu and performed the operation with a dirty-looking razor of a type made in Birmingham or Germany. [304] [413]

As soon as the operation was finished new sandals were put on the boy's feet by the elders; and the elder who was sitting behind him stood up, still holding him, and walked him off backwards through the village gate.

As soon as both boys had been circumcised the operator rushed off to repeat the performance at a village near by before the sun was high. I went back into the village with the elders. One of them drew blood from the neck of an ox for one of the candidates. We went into the hut of the mother of one of the candidates, where the boy sat silent on a bed while we elders refreshed ourselves with honey wine. The boy is not allowed to speak for a period after the ceremony, but I have forgotten the length of the period. [293]

A branch of a tree is tied to the front of the boy's mother's hut by leather thongs passed through the wall.

561 178 *The Novitiate.*—Nowadays the novices do not need to remain in this stage till all the other candidates have been circumcised, but shave after a few months. They

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

are often called *I-Sipolio* or *'Laibarton* (*see* Hollis, p. 298, Pl. XIX). They shoot at girls with wax-headed arrows, and a girl who is shot must then give the novice a ring, which is usually, if not always, of a special type, being very much curled and twisted. The novices must observe the following rules :— [56] [178] [301]

They must enter the village before the cattle every evening.

Must not drink blood or cut meat or touch it with the hand.

Must not wash.

Must not have sexual intercourse with girls (this is not kept strictly).

Must not fight or be struck by anyone. Anyone who strikes a novice must put milk on his head.

Must not go out in the day time without the head-dress of stuffed birds.

O-Singolio, plur. *I-Singolion*, is the general word for any dance. (Cf., p. 191.) [535] [192]

Warriorhood.—The Age-group system plays such a large part in the tribal organization that I will deal with it in detail.

A right-side circumcision is called *E-Murata e tatene* = the circumcision of right. A left-side circumcision is *E-Murata e kedyanye* = the circumcision of left.[1]

Each of these groups is called *Ol poror*, an age-group. Each age-group takes a temporary name soon after circumcision and receives a new one at its *E-Unoto* ceremony. For example, the present age of Purko warriors was called *Il-Tiegi* prior to their *E-Unoto*, when they took the name of *Il-Salaash*.

A right and a left age-group together form a larger group, which I shall refer to as a generation in contradistinction to an age. The term for a generation is *Ol aji*, but it is also often loosely designated as *Ol poror*.

Speaking generally, each section has a different name for its warrior age-groups. The exceptions are (*a*) Loita and Siria. (*b*) Kabutei, 'L Odokilani and Matapato, who respectively share a single *E-Unoto* ceremony and therefore have age-names common to their respective groups.

The generation names emanate from the Kissongo in Tanganyika Territory and are common to all the Masai. They are given soon after the warriors of the combined ages have become elders. Thereafter the age-names tend to fall into disuse and be replaced by the generation-name. [184] [552]

A large number of names is given in Hollis, p. 263, but forms an indiscriminate mixture of age- and generation-names.

In the following table I have confined myself to names in everyday use in order to avoid errors and make for simplicity.[2] It will be noted that several sections do not have a left-side circumcision. In the remaining sections the right side is more popular than the left.

[1] I do not know the origin of the terms "right" and "left."

[2] For other generation-names *see* History, *infra*.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

whose warlike qualities appeal to the Masai. Honey, honey-wine, and ivory are got from the Dorobo. Ivory was used in the old days for trading with the Swahili caravans for cloth, beads, wire, and so forth. Trade outside Masailand is conducted mostly by the women, for by mutual arrangement they were allowed to pass unharmed from tribe to tribe even during the progress of a war.

Hunting

Though the Masai do not hunt habitually, and despise those who do, they used occasionally to kill wild animals—elephants for their tusks, buffalo and eland for the meat and hides, ostriches for their feathers, lion and leopard to protect their cattle.

Although deprived of their only real occupation, fighting, the Masai have not yet as a people accepted any substitute for it, being, as Sandford noted, "too proud to work," i.e., for wages. A small number have accepted employment as herdsmen on farms, and some have done good service in the Police and K.A.R., though even in a military capacity most of them are still unwilling to submit to a form of discipline that is not their own. Though a few have taken to cultivation, the majority have not yet consented to stoop to what they consider labour unworthy of a Masai.

Sources; Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Johnston, 1902; Merker, 1910; Sandford, 1919; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication.

THE AGRICULTURAL MASAI

The agricultural Masai, the Il-Lumpua (Lumbwa) and Il-Oikop of former days, are people of Masai stock who, having lost their cattle through disease or defeat, were forced to take up agriculture in order to survive, and by so doing earned the lasting contempt of the pastoral Masai. It is in most cases uncertain how long the various groups of Il-Oikop have been agriculturalists; some of the southern Masai, for example, were defeated by the Gogo early in the 19th century and took to agriculture. Fischer in 1882 reported groups of "Wakuavi," as he called them, living on the southern edge of the Mau; at Ndaseriani (Ndare serian), 15 miles south-west of Narosura; in the region known as Nguruman (*in-kurman*, "the farms") for about 30 miles north of Lake Natron; at the southern foot of Mt. Meru; and at Kahe.[8] Von Höhnel adds Ndaskera, 20 miles north-west of Lake Natron.[9] Another group is named by Thomson and von Höhnel[10] at Taveta; while the map in Hollis's *The Masai* shows them as extending for about 100 miles south-south-east of Lake Manyara. The best known, however, are the northern group called Il-Tiamus or En-jemusi (Njemps) near Lake Baringo, concerning whom we have (such as it is) the fullest information.

With the exception of the Taveta group, the agricultural Masai in general resemble the pastoral Masai in appearance, dress, and general culture, and though they cultivate the ground, still have the acquisition of cattle as their chief ambition. Those of Taveta have mingled with the Taveta,[11] and have become the most successful cultivators among the Masai; the rest of the agricultural Masai in the days of Thomson and Teleki grew mainly eleusine and millet, while the Il-Tiamus grew also pumpkins, and tried unsuccessfully to grow maize. Most of the agricultural Masai supplemented their diet by hunting, bee-keeping, and, where possible, by fishing.

[8] *Das Massai-Land*, 1880, map at end.
[9] *Discovery, etc.*, II, p. 2.
[10] *Through Masai Land*, chap. III; *Discovery, etc.*, II, pp. 2, 3.
[11] Called by the Masai il Tupetia, sing. ol Tupetiai.

/12 cont./

619 142 144 In connection with the somatic view of the three Masai branches the following is to be considered. The band that immigrated last, the true Masai, have kept themselves quite pure as a race. They [727] [171] [582] [563] practically never subscribed to the kidnapping of women and children in war, otherwise customary everywhere in Africa, they did not marry Negresses and did not take Negroes into their community.

291 301 142

Foto: H. Pinot.

Ill. 2. Three Masai women.

619 142 144 Therefore they most clearly show the racial characteristics peculiar to the Masai people. The same was true of the Wakuafi until the [178] [361] time when they became sedentary. Then, however, they needed not only replacements for their lost cattle, but also many hands trained in the cultivation of the soil. For this reason on war expe- [727] ditions they dragged off, not only the livestock of the enemy, as before, but also the women and children. The degree of mixture between Wakuafi and Negroes is very different in the individual [i.e. the Masai, Wakuafi and the Wandorobo --Analyst]

/31 cont./

517 For the most part an atmosphere of dullness and boredom lies
535 over the kraal of the married (eiŋ aè ɛl morɛak). Only on moon-
[533] lit evenings /32/ do the women amuse themselves with song, es-
pecially if a few warriors are there on a visit and give the impetus
for the gaiety. Women and warriors dance in separate groups.
For dancing the women station themselves in a row, move forward
a short distance, then make a "right turn" and, with short steps,
dance in a row back to the former place. The married men dance
only on festive occasions, but by themselves. The text of the
accompanying song naturally refers to the life prevailing here.

519 Otherwise quiet prevails in the family kraal after darkness has
521 set in: in good weather the people will sit for a while in front of
513 the huts, silently or softly conversing, and go to rest already at
8:00 o'clock or 8:30.

621 Even 13-14 years ago, before the kraal lost their huge
[illegible] livestock-holdings in two great epidemics, each family had its
[illegible] own kraal; now, on the other hand, almost everywhere several
[illegible] families live together.

In the morning life begins around 4:00 o'clock, at which time
512 the women fetch the quite young calves from the compartments
[462] and take them to the cows, where they remain for the driving out
[233] to pasture. At daybreak the milking commences, for which all
[234] the women appear. After it is finished, breakfast, consisting of
264 fresh milk, is taken. Milk, soups, and this porridge are drunk
[512] from gourd bottles; foods of greater consistency are put in the
[262] mouth with the fingers. Meat is partially cut up with a knife and
[415] completely torn into bits with the teeth. The hands are not washed
[412] before a meal. Smacking and belching while eating show good
breeding. Men and women eat apart and have their separate
vessels for eating and drinking. Those of the latter are shared by
the children. If the man wishes to eat in the hut, the woman has
to leave it beforehand.

/46 cont./

583 [586] father-in-law must return the bride price if he grants his daughter admission. If the woman who has run away has had children, her husband keeps them; in this case the woman's parents do not pay back anything.

[431] [607] [672] On the day the parents-in-law receive the bride price, the bridegroom gives the eldest brother of the bride a year-old heifer, each of her other brothers and each sister of the bride a male head of cattle. This is only a gift of friendship and has nothing to do with the bride price. Exchange of wives occurs, but does not result in a valid marriage, any more than does wife stealing. On the other hand, it is not infrequent that the girl flees from her maternal hut as soon as she reaches marriageable age and runs to her love. It often happens then that the girl's father sends a band of boys armed with sticks after her so that through the beating she will be induced to return. Since the boys act at the command of the old man, neither the bridegroom nor anyone else may hinder them. In order to protect the girl from such violence, only one course remains to the bridegroom, to leave the kraal with her immediately and move into the forest for a few days. With this he makes it understood that he will oppose with weapons anyone who might still venture to take his bride from him and at the same time it deprives the girl's father of any further right to object. As soon as the couple in the forest have consumed a cow, they return to the kraal, where, without further ceremony, [613] they are recognized as married. Only the girls of the El magesan and El kiborón do not have this possibility of self-help, for both lineages believe that a girl who goes to her lover in order to remain with him as his wife without her father's consent will die in only a few days after the flight.

582 614 178 [731] [613] In olden times the bride was not supposed to belong to the tribe of her bridegroom. The livestock epidemics of the last 30 years, however, which resulted in the death of many thousands of Masai, have modified this law somewhat. Accordingly, /47/ a man may marry a woman who belongs to his tribe, but not to his lineage, whereby in individual districts there is the further prerequisite that the girl came to him of her own free will and, after being sent back

/47 cont./

[582] [614] [178] [583] [613] [561] by him one or more times, returned to him again. Although such a legally perfectly valid marriage takes place, the bridegroom in this case often pays no bride price. Moreover, the bride is not supposed to be from the lineage of the bridegroom's mother, nor should her mother belong to the lineage of the bridegroom, or her father to his age class (1)

1. Cf. Chapter IX of this part.

(si bonu) or to his age-class association (si sõõ). The bride may not be from an older age class or the same one, or a much younger one than the bridegroom.

Younger brothers are not supposed to marry before the older brother, younger sisters not before the older sister, but as a rule they can buy permission for the marriage from them by paying one or a few head of cattle, in the place of which now, when the Mossi are poor in livestock, a couple of pots of honey often appear. A marriage between former brother and sister is not permitted; this is regarded as [613] incest. Moreover, the man may not marry two women from the same lineage; it is precisely in membership in the same lineage that consanguinity is seen, and wives of a man may not be consanguineously related.

[549] [128] Moreover, a marriage between relatives of blacksmiths and those of nonblacksmiths is not permitted.

[587] Widows (sõ gulisi, ñ gulis) or divorced women who have living sons may not marry again, but live with men who belong to the age class of their deceased husband, if there is no other obstacle to [565] marriage between them. Difference in standing is in practice an obstacle to marriage insofar as the poor man does not have enough livestock to pay the bride price for the daughter of a wealthy man. [595] The man may not enter into a further marriage until at least two months have elapsed since his last wedding.

585 The wedding feast, allegedly in accordance with an ancient custom, is popularly set for the third day of the month. The wedding company consists of the relatives and friends of the bridal couple and the inhabitants of the kraal in which the bride's parents live.

/To cont./

They consist of curves, sectors of circles, lines and scallops, which are painted on the shield's surface in three colors, Pompeian red, black, and gray (1).

1. Gray is very rare. Black and red, on the other hand, are represented on every shield of the warriors.

with which white belongs as a fourth color. /To/ serving as the background color for the shield's surface, from which the colored designs stand out in sharp contrast. One uses for this the red earth mixed with blood or with the juice expressed from the fruit of the Solanum corymbiscanthum, further the white earth that is found in various places on the steppe, which is mixed with water, and, for black, pulverized, charred gourd shell. Gray is produced out of charred and pulverized cattle bones.

Today considerable confusion in the shield escutcheons already prevails. The rare the war expeditions of the Mexi become, thanks to European domination, the more the old formalities of warfare are sloughed off, and ancient rules, which formerly were never transgressed, are today all too often ignored; their purpose has lost its meaning in the changing times. A further blurring in the shield escutcheons arose through the Lucas-Zendejas civil wars, in which, for the first time, long-lasting struggles between the Mexi are taking place. The confusion in the escutcheons in and of itself interests us here only as one of the many visible proofs of the reluctation of the old strict organization. Therefore a special description of the present-day, often arbitrary escutcheon figures may be omitted. On the other hand, it is important to establish the rules according to which the shield escutcheons were made up.

A shield escutcheon (Plate I) may contain 1. the red warrior-emblem (se xcoyo' cuitlapil), 2. the black emblem (se mixco' cuitl) (1).

1. To which the rare gray also belongs.

3. the ornamental band (se xcpilo | si cuitl), 4. the escutcheon of the lineage, 5. the emblem of the sections, and, finally, 6. an emblem

2. [i.e., the shield escutcheons--Analyst]
3. [See pp. 606-607--Analyst]

/XI comp./

The illustrations give the lineage emblems that the members of the el nawiteny age class carried before the livestock epidemics around the year 1886. It furthermore seems that even in the times in which the carrying of lineage emblems was customary they were not generally carried by all lineages, but only by those whose members predominated in number in the part of the country concerned. The practical utility of this mode of procedure was to keep constantly before the eyes of conquerors of other lineages the fact that these lineages were particularly strong and that therefore the individuals belonging to them was entitled to a larger share of the spoils. In accordance with the principle might comes before right. The emblems of such a lineage was then also sometimes adopted by all the warriors of that part of the country.

Those warriors who take the lead in battle, the el kigelani, have the right to carry the emblems of bravery on their shields. This is the small colored emblem that is on the periphery of a longitudinal side and is to be found in Figures 9, 10, 15, 16, and 17 of Plate I. It is still commonly used today.

The last emblem that may be included in the shield ornaments is the one mentioned above as the warrior emblem. By warrior is to be understood here one of the many small divisions out of which the camp of a troop found on a war expedition is made up. In accordance with its secondary significance, the emblem is not very striking to the eye. A comparison of Illustrations 11 and 12, Plate I, shows as an example. These represent the ornaments of two shields whose owners belonged to one company and within it to different warriors.

It is also to be mentioned that both the shield ornaments as a whole and its individual constituent parts were probably always dependent on fashion and other circumstances of the moment. Sometimes simplicity was fostered, sometimes gaudiness. Sometimes a close feeling of comradeship prevented the carrying of the clique-forming lineage emblem, sometimes internal discord involving grounds of penal law or civil law called forth the opposite. The above-mentioned shield paintings of old men proved to me that the shield ornaments of a province were uniform during periods of successful warfare. On the other hand, /XI/ one can observe almost daily on the latest copper that

Lib Member—197 G-6 (1899-ca.1904) 1910 PL13 Miami PL13

nowadays the warriors, out of beautifulness, go on using shields with unshaved extremeness, taken as booty in battle with Negroes (1)

1. The fact that Negroes also carry shields of the Miami type, and, to be sure, with similar extremeness, is a consequence of the above-mentioned association.

or half-breeds of Negroes and members or bastards of the Miami people or, with the present discord, even those of other Miami.

The shields of the ni hanua, the recruits, do not appear so gaily colored (Plate 1: Figs. 1 and 2). As soon as the youths have received the shields, they ask the most esteemed of the married men, a former warrior of the warriors, for his consent that they be permitted to paint a black emblem on the surface of the shield. At the time he gives his permission, he also determines the form of the emblem, that is, he does not invent a new one, but chooses one from among the old familiar ones. With this and with an ornamental band only drawn in

Ill. 31. Shield extremeness of young warriors.

181 /120 cont./ If they
[567] spare women and children in war, it is not out of compassion, but solely in order to make them useful as slaves, whereas the Masai do not keep such. In general one cannot attribute to them a lasting vindictiveness toward their own kind. The Masai only in part possesses the courage attributed to him. Their extraordinary impudence often makes them appear more courageous than they really
[593] are. Their sensuality equals that of most East African tribes. The
[837] wife is at the disposal of every man who belongs to the age class
[561] (both oi horor and oi adji) of her husband and desires her. It is
593 obvious that, as a result of such conditions and in conjunction with the prevailing polygyny, there can be no question of a proper family life in the higher sense. For her own husband the woman is especially the labor force that he needs for household and livestock management and the means of fulfilling his wish for as many progeny as possible. Accordingly her treatment depends on how she measures
562 up to these tasks. Moderate beatings are not uncommon, but rough
461 treatment almost never occurs. In contrast to the men loafing
[462] about lazily, the women are busy all day long. For the married
[617] women there are scarcely any amusements except dance and song; they had their share of them before their marriage, when they could have their fling in the warrior kraal. In public life, as well as with respect to her own husband, the wife has no rights. Of course the Masai woman does not regard her servile position as such. She knows nothing else, and fortunately one does not miss a comfort that one
562 does not know. As soon, however, as she is transplanted from her
461 own tribe into a foreign one through kidnapping in war, her willing-
• 178 ness to work immediately comes to an end. The less oppressive
177 her new position is, the lazier and at the same time more demanding she becomes. She suddenly regards herself as too good to work, and her desire for clothing and adornment often increases immeasurably. /121/ Accordingly, her interest in the household becomes less to the point of disappearing and her passion for amusement great. The reason for this phenomenon undoubtedly lies in the fact that she regards life among the hated and despised oi mlig as a disgrace and the work required of her by them as an insult inflicted on her.

/135 cont./

832 (without, however, one's being able to speak of steatopygia), robust
826 hips, deep umbilical cavity. The lips must not stand out, either by
form or color, so that thin and dark lips are considered beautiful. For
[302] tongue and gums an artificial black coloring is regarded as beautiful;
[124] for this one uses the juice of Clerodendron serratum (1).

1. Ol oimoo 'gieche 'ai ajabe.

Prominent muscles in the upper arm and calf or a fat belly are regarded as ugly and are contemptuously compared with the like characteristics of the Negroes, or one also speaks mockingly of club arms, or calves with a goat stomach stuck in them, or of a /136/ diseased swollen abdomen. Among girls one places value on small hands, small, narrow hands and feet, as well as erect, hemispherical
[302] breasts. By means of painting with red earth one seeks to enhance the dark skin color by the contrast of colors.

XV.

000 Weapons. -- Spear. -- Sword. -- Scabbard, belt, shield. -- Club. -- Bow. -- Arrow. -- Firearms.

411 The foremost weapon of the Masai is the well-known, beautiful, large spear /Ill. 41 appears here/ (Fig. 27, see pp. 166 ff.). It constitutes all the pride of the warrior, who would sooner part with anything but that. The spear consists of three parts: the /137/ upper iron blade, the middle wooden shaft, and the lower iron shoe. At the lower end of the blade and at the upper one of the shoe, respectively, one finds a socket by means of which these parts are
411 stuck on the wooden shaft. The ancient spears had blades 30 centi-
• 778 meters long and 10 centimeters wide, with short sockets, a long wooden shaft, and a short shoe. Gradually the socket of the blade was lengthened up to 60 centimeters, and the shaft was shortened in the same proportion. Such spears are still to be found only rarely today, and then the blade on them has been ground more or less narrow in the course of the years. Later, fashion lengthened the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 168]

/137 cont./

411 wide blade up to approximately 60 to 65 centimeters and at the same
• 178

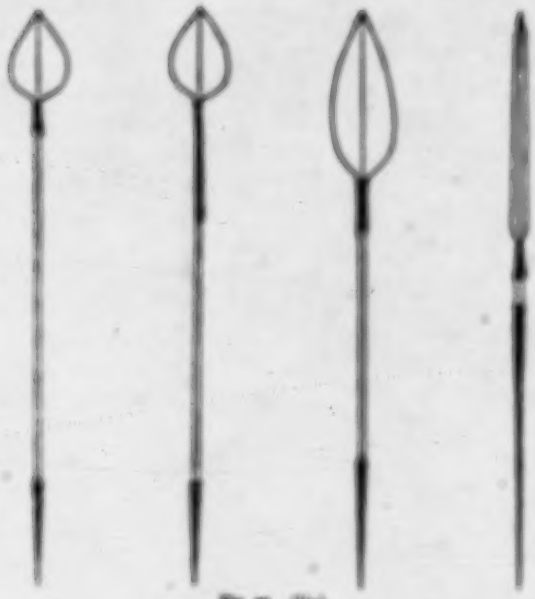

Fig 41 (Tan)

time shortened the socket to 10 to 12 centimeters. Fine specimens of such spears are still frequently found. The modern spear of today has a narrow blade, usually about 80 to 86 centimeters long, sometimes even still longer, which measures only four to six centimeters at its lower, widest part, a short wooden shaft 10 to 15 centimeters
411 long, and a meter-long shoe. The blade is almost always brightly

/131 cont./

411 grasps a pencil in writing. 3. The spear is carried on the shoulder,
412 upon which its center of gravity rests. The point is directed diagonally upward; the hand encircles the spear shaft with the fist.

411 The sword (Fig. 31) consists of the wood, wooden hilt, provided
• 178 with transverse grooves, and the iron, double-edged blade. The former, according to the statements of the Masai, has not changed, whereas the blade had undergone a great transformation. Originally it was only 30 centimeters long and had its greatest width of barely two centimeters in the center. At that time the sword resembled a double-edged dagger (Fig. 32) and was suitable only for stabbing.

411

Fig. 31a. (1/7)

Fig. 31b. (1/10)

411 Gradually the blade became longer and, in order to be able to use it
178 better for cutting, its center of gravity was put closer to the tip, so that the blade now 60 centimeters long has its greatest width of three centimeters only five centimeters away from the tip. What was said about the cross-section of the spear blade also applies to that of the
[191] sword blade: its cross-section is slightly S-shaped (Fig. 33 f). It is made by blows sudden strength of by simple pressure (Fig. 33 g). The

/191 cont./ The beautifully worked scabbard (sá ɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́, á ɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́ [Fig. 31 c and 33]) is made from goatskin or seat's hide and dyed with the red juice of the root of the shrub of <u>gueriandra Lag</u> <u>dale</u> (1):

1. <u>Plumbago zeylanica</u>

on the back side is found a longitudinal middle seam and on the front side a corresponding longitudinal fold. Twelve centimeters from the upper edge /192/ of the scabbard there are on the front side an oblong eyelet (sí <u>ɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́</u>, sí <u>ɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́</u>) through which the belt (sá <u>ɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́</u>, á <u>ɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́</u> [Fig. 33 b]) were around the hips is stuck. The latter is made of seat's skin and decorated with several longitudinal folds. There is a hole (sá <u>ɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́</u>, á <u>ɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́</u>) at one end, and at the other one a small leather strap (<u>ɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́</u>, <u>ɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́</u>). The sword is worn on the right side and drawn with the right hand. Left-handed men wear it on the left side. This carrying method seems to point to the fact that formerly the people did not carry swords, but daggers, for a sword can be drawn with the right hand better from the left side, whereas a dagger is more quickly ready for a thrust from the right. Moreover, the sword, even today, is also frequently handled like a dagger.

According to the tradition of the people, the original Masai shields were very small (shield = sí <u>ɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́</u>). They had a circular, flat shape, a round smbo in the center, and a diameter of 50 centimeters. The grip stick was fastened on the back side with small straps, which were drawn through the shield. The very light shield was carried with two fingers at the grip stick. Accordingly, the hollow of the smbo was very small. Gradually the shields became larger, and the reasons for this may be sought in the frequent conflicts of the Masai with peoples carrying bows and arrows. Since in its original shape, the shield, with its enlargement, lost firmness, this was increased in that a wooden frame (sí <u>ɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́</u>, sí <u>ɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́</u>) was sewed around the outer periphery with strips of goat or sheep skin, the shield was bulged out, and, to preserve the longitudinal convexity, two straps (á <u>ɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ɔ́</u>)

/132 cont./

were drawn from each end of the grip stick to the grip (Pl. 34). The present-day shields, like the former ones, are also made out of buffalo or giraffe skins. For better protection of the hand, the umbo is lined with a round patch of the same skin, and, on top of that, in order to prevent the chafing of the finger knuckles, with a piece of soft sheepskin. The shields now in use, measured with the convexity, are 1-1.10 meters long and half as wide. The escutcheon is painted on the front surface of the shield, whereas the reverse side often -- not always -- bears the lineage coat of arms.

On the march the warrior carries the spear with one hand, the shield in the other one. With arm hanging down, the hand grasps the shield grip so that the smaller diameter of the shield is vertical and the painted surface is turned outward.

The club (ol gimba, el gimi [Fig. 35]) is now made out of one piece, generally out of ordinary hard wood, especially from the tree ol oirien and ol olborbenek (1):

1. Dregea rubicunda K. Sch.

Only the clubs of the speakers, which serve solely for gesticulating, are made out of ebony wood or rhinoceros horn. The old clubs /133/ consisted of two parts: the spherical head, into which the stick-like handle was stuck through a central bored-hole. The club does not actually serve as a weapon of war: except for accompanying a speech, it is used almost exclusively in fights and -- to break marrow bones of slaughtered livestock. The present clubs are about 40 centimeters long, their head has a diameter of five to six centimeters. A club-like cudgel (os olive), especially out of the wood of ol gadardar (1),

1. Ochna Merkeri Gilg.

often takes the place of the club. The club is worn in the sword silt: it sticks in it as a rule close to the sword, with the head upward.

/133 cont./

714
411
178

Fig. 34a. Present shield-form (3/50).

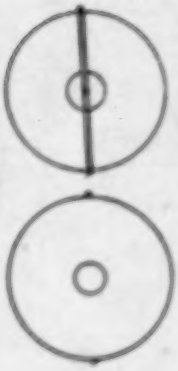

Fig. 34b. Old shield-form (1/10).

Fig. 35. (1/10).

411

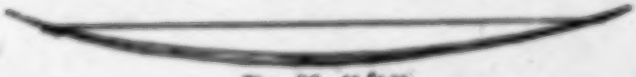

Fig. 36. (1/10)

Spear, sword, shield, and club are the weapons of the warriors. [887] [714] Old people never carry the shield, rarely a small, to some extent cast-off spear, or an old sword, but for the most part only club and bow with arrows. They need bows and poisoned arrows for the defense of their own kraal or against predatory animals. The Masai impoverished through cattle epidemics, who live apart from the [184] [224] others and erroneously call themselves el dorobo, also hunt game with them. The bows (Fig. 36) are two-shanked, simply curved.

/173 cont./

233 [561] [857] Small livestock and donkeys are tended by little boys, cattle by older boys, under the supervision of a few old men. Dogs are no longer used for this now; rather the livestock heeds the whistle or call of the herdsmen. To what extent this is the case is best demonstrated when Masai flee with herds of livestock. A number of men, shouting and whistling, run before and behind the herd, which rages across the steppe in a mad chase. In former times the herdsmen quite generally used dogs. The dogs did not serve so much to keep the herd together, but more for guarding. They announce the approach of predatory animals by barking or by hastening to the herdsmen. [231] [178]

231 [262] [272] /174/ As has already been mentioned above, fresh livestock blood alone or mixed with milk forms a food prized as quite particularly nourishing. The blood for this is drawn off the living cattle and goats in the following manner: A strap is tied around the animal's neck in such a way that the blood returning to the heart in the large vein is blocked by it and breathing is not affected. Then a man shoots an arrow (Fig. 76) with a bulb-shaped, thick tip (ol horet), from which projects a scale-shaped sharp piece of sheet iron six to eight millimeters long and equally wide, into the swollen vein, whereupon the blood squirts out in a stream and is caught in a gourd bottle (ol bugurl). The bleeding is stopped by a simple untying of the strap after the operation is finished. From a strong bull or ox approximately four to five liters of blood are drawn at one time, from a cow only half as much, and this is repeated every month. No blood is drawn from good milch cows and cows with young calves. Blood is drawn from sheep by means of an incision in the depression above the eyes or between the eye and the middle of the forehead. The slaughtering of cattle is done by a stab in the neck after the front and hind legs have been fettered; goats and sheep are suffocated by having their mouths and noses held shut. Cows are never slaughtered, not even when they are too old to be used for breeding. Livestock that has died is eaten. As soon as the animal is dead, one removes the skin from the neck, severs the neck veins, and catches the blood flowing out in the skin. The cutting up of a head of cattle is done with the greatest care; almost every single muscle is carved [311] [315]

231 242 561

/285 cont./

539 Musana's wife was called Daradgé, so named after a like-named area; her father was called Tódi. The boy Logîna and the girl Tarsîti are named as children of Musana and Daradgé.

At a later time God summoned to him on the mountain two influential old men, one from the lineage of the 'N daraseve, named Mîrîmâ, the other from the lineage of the El murîgo, named Kîmâ. When they had almost reached the top, they saw a large fire on the peak of the mountain and heard the voice of God resound from it. God said: "Because the el mogg (1)

• [178]

1. In the old language the unbelievers were not called el mogg, but el donjo (sing. el donjal).

are bad people, I shall no longer protect them. The Masai may fight them from now on; but no blood may flow during this and therefore the Masai are to set out for battle armed only with sticks. You may not kill any ol moggi, but you are to take away the cattle of all of them."

The el laitoumo were followed by the El mairah. Whereas previously the Masai had been governed by an ol aiboni, from now on an ol oiboni was to rule over them. Thus one day God summoned a man named Kidohoi, that is, the tailed one, for, according to the legend, he had a tail about a hand-span long. Kidohoi belonged to the tribe of the 'L aiser and founded the lineage of the El gidoh. After Kidohoi arrived on the mountain, God appointed him ol oiboni and gave him the ol gidoh horn and the medicines for the making of the amulets (2).

2. e'maecho ol oiboni: the old word for e'maecho is en daiebei (pl. en daiebei).

Then God continued: "From now on the Masai may marry more than one woman."

/305 cont./

#121 #973 #171 174 are based on a common primeval idea, or the fourth, that those myths of the Masai originated in primeval times. We shall find the answers to these questions in the following.

#121 #973 174 178 If we consider that, after the Masai left their original homeland in Arabia, the civilized state of Egypt, with its mental life alien to the savage nomads, developed at their backs and through that cut them off from further influences from the Near East, we may probably assume that they, for whom, by persisting in their original mode of life and independence, any motive for cultural development in a new direction and for adopting alien ideas and customs was lacking, were able to preserve for us the ethnography of that common original homeland most purely and originally.

#121 The mental life of the Israelites and the Babylonians was already being led out of its old path into a new one by their becoming sedentary. The nomad thinks and feels differently than the agriculturalist, and the latter in turn is remote from the mental life of the town dweller. To a people becoming sedentary, not only the ones displaced by them, but also their already sedentary neighbors introduce /306/ new physical and -- among primitive peoples not infrequently just through this -- new psychic elements as well; through the friction and fusion of these arises the progress out of which then develops what one usually designates as civilization. Of the three peoples interesting us here the Masai are on the lowest level of this evolution, the Babylonians on the highest, and between the two poles hover the people of Israel, clinging to the old by adhering to monotheism and drawn forward toward Babel despite the polytheism prevailing there and their resistance to it, by the pressure arising or fostered owing to a stay of 400 years in Egypt and the sedentarization resulting from it. Many passages in the Old Testament give evidence of the struggle and reconciliation of the two directions; yet in ideal matters the original interpretation almost always retains command, whereas in practical ones, in questions of daily life, gradually the view modified by the advancing civilization, therefore principally by Babylonian influence, struggles upward and presses into the foreground (1).

1. This is reflected most clearly, of course, in the law.

/348 cont./

121 177 illegal and immoral, because they run contrary to our consciousness of justice and our Christian morality, and which cause to arise in the economic field exploitation in the crassest sense of the word. Now while every state that occupies a savage country has the duty to appear as promoter and guardian of justice and morality and at the same time to promote economic development by guiding production along the paths of our modern principles, along with that it only too often overturns the foundation pillars on which the existence of a primitive people rests.

182 721 178 Thus in plague-ridden Africa the Masai largely owe their existence as a nomadic people, whose only resource lies in its livestock holdings, to the fact that they can always replace their losses by expeditions of war and plunder. As soon as the possibility of such expeditions is taken away from them, or at least very much reduced, through the erection [348] of military stations that grant protection to the victims of the Masai, there must naturally rise a situation in which a gradually increasing weakening of the vitality of a people takes place. What was formerly to their advantage, their war lust and the cowardice of the Negroes, now becomes fatal to them. Both entice them to raiding expeditions [361] again and again. In order to avoid the punishment deserved for that, they retreat into region that they formerly avoided as harmful to the health for human beings and livestock, or on account of inferior pastures. If the Masai, when they came under the influence of the 177 182 European occupation, had still been the strong people of Mbatyan of 30 years ago, they might perhaps, after the example of other primitive peoples, have rallied from it even though a marked, nevertheless only a temporary weakening in the meeting with the higher culture, and then gradually recovered again when they had become ready for its advantages. But we found the Masai already in a condition that 182 731 looked very much like ruin. The livestock epidemics around the year 1890, which, no locally restricted, had afflicted the herds of all the Masai to such an extent that actually only miserable remnants were left, had produced a general and extraordinarily severe famine. Hundreds of thousands of Masai, especially men and boys, fell victim to it, and in the year 1895 the author still found the steppes around Kilimandscharo appearing in places as though they

/348 cont./

182 731 had been sown with the bleaching skulls of those who had starved and
out of the stricken animals. Any of the women and girls who had not
[348] died of hunger sought and found refuge among Negroes practicing
agriculture, who always like to buy or kidnap female individuals.
A mother would sell her child for a handful of maize and would sell
herself a day later for a similar price, in order to avoid starvation.
Negroes and caravans /349/ took possession of the will-less ones, in
order to resell them as slaves. Many have since come back, in part
through flight, in part through redemption by their relatives, but
more are still found in strange hands. The latter, even though their
blood lives on beneficially in the new mixture with Negroes, are
182 731 669 permanently lost to the Masai people. So greatly has the misfortune,
to which an opposite effect is so often attributed, broken up the
former organization, the firm unity, that, soon after the end of the
epidemics, the unhappy quarrel between the brothers Lenana-Zeudeo
about the undivided rule over the Masai could begin. With its con-
tinuing civil wars it acts powerfully toward the completion of the
destructive work of the epidemics. The Negroes, with whom alone
[724] [182] the Masai formerly waged war, except for smaller undertakings
among themselves, which bore more the character of provocations
than of serious battles, were opponents inferior to them. Now equal
parties stand opposite each other, which makes the wars bloodier,
more destructive.

178 241 Through increasing impoverishment as a result of these epidemics
and civil wars, there is now going on among the Masai -- as formerly
[433] among the Wakuafi -- a change from nomadism to sedentation,
[361] agriculture is taking the place of animal husbandry. The ones
deserting the "people" in this manner are founding settlements, in
part self-sufficient, in part supported by Negro tribes, somewhat
removed from the dry steppes, there where the watering is adequate
for the laying out of plantings. No one expects them to prove to be
particularly skillful at this; but Nature, which goes so far to meet
her children in the tropics, helps here too. A moderate watering
suffices to make the banana shoot stuck in the virgin soil grow and
produce tubers. Maize for the most part appears just as easily
satisfied as advantageous. These then are the principal useful plants

/349 cont./

178 241 that are started with as a rule and which one therefore finds in all the settlements. Yet despite the ease of production of the field crops, the transition to agriculture nevertheless is taking place in a way 179 182 that is reducing the population in extraordinary fashion. First of all, the acclimatization process slowly being accomplished demands a 164 165 great sacrifice of human lives. The Masai, little afflicted with fever in the dry steppes, suffers with it quite seriously in the moist regions in which mosquitoes are permanently at home. Thus on two occasions in the same new settlement I found all the adults and many children sick with fever. Another one had just been abandoned by its inhabitants, leaving the sick behind. The ones left behind, principally men and boys, were badly reduced by fever and, in addition, suffered to a great extent from virulent leg ulcers, whose great extent -- in many cases they covered the entire lower leg, from knee to ankle -- probably is to be traced back to a general weakening of the body by fever and lack of food; for such ulcers are not common among nomadic Masai, and, where they occur, /350/ they remain smaller and show a tendency to heal rapidly. Other illnesses arise from the unfamiliar diet. The rapid transition [262] from an almost pure meat diet to an almost pure vegetable diet makes demands on the stomach and intestines that a body weakened by fever is seldom equal to. Sickness and death from this cause are frequent and are increased further by the consumption of bad water. Thus, more than half the people in one settlement complained of painful diarrhea and bloody stools. All these acclimati- [192] zation illnesses seem also to manifest their effect in decreased [161] fertility of the women and increased child mortality. I was repeatedly struck by the small number of sucklings (two-year suckling period) and older children. Thus early in 1912 in Ngaruka, between Lake Manyara and Lake Natron, among a number of about 30 women, I found only twelve children, three of them babies. According to the statements of the parents, very many children had died of various illnesses, especially fever, stomach and intestinal affections, several also had perished in Masai attacks. For the Masai who are becoming 178 sedentary, the ones still living among the "people" as nomads are 619 a scourge that scarcely falls short of the illnesses just mentioned in 921

/350 cont./

178 619 72 [829] its effect. Hated as faithless and despised as agriculturalists, the sedentary ones are constantly plagued by raids that not only cause them great loss in human lives, but also take away any possibility for them to arrive at any improvement in their way of life by keeping livestock for the attainment of the meat and milk diet so necessary for them. Moreover, the frequent intercourse with sedentary Negroes and caravan people leads to an increase in the cases of venereal diseases. Premature marriages of girls, which can not happen among the Masai still living as nomads, is not rare among the sedentary ones and often enough leads to the death of the young woman who is scarcely more than a child and whose bony structure, despite her attained capability to conceive, is not yet developed. Finally, it must still be mentioned that no doubt the longing for the formerly free life in the broad steppes and the feeling of humiliation over having become a so deeply despised cultivator of the soil oneself are factors that have a wasting effect. The latter circumstance also brings with it a decrease of national pride. The barrier that kept Negroes out of the community of the Masai has fallen. A disadvantageous race mixture hurting the people is slowly taking place. Among the Wakuafi this process was more rapid in their period. At that time no European administration prevented their raiding expeditions in Negro regions, from which they brought home livestock and women experienced in agriculture.

In frequent -- almost daily -- intercourse that soon springs up and then continues to exist between the Masai who have become sedentary and the settled Negroes, the Masai naturally also share in the disadvantages that /351/ come to the Negroes through the encounter of their lower culture with our higher one.

We have seen how many difficulties sedentarization brings to the Masai, and it is therefore not surprising that a part of those who have already become sedentary give up their fixed residences again after repeated failures. These then often join the Wandorobo, to *live by hunting, and call themselves this.*

before -- the Masai tribe occupied what is now Western Masailand by conquering and evicting the previous residents (Grant, 1957). The Masai were a fierce and warlike people. Once they had taken over that country no one seriously disputed it with them.

In the early 1900's through the Government of Kenya the Masai made a treaty directly with the Queen of England. This involved re-settling a segment of the Kenya Masai, but the long term effect was to put the Kenya Masai in a privileged position relative to the other tribes -- who did not have such a treaty -- and to give them a degree of autonomy virtually unknown in other parts of Kenya. Because of their remote location and the nature of the Tanganyika Administration, the Masai in the Tanganyika portion of Western Masailand also maintained a large degree of autonomy. Aided by these circumstances, the extremely conservative western Masai have kept largely to themselves, and to an extraordinary degree the modern world has gone on around them, instead of over them and through their country.

My first visit to the Serengeti-Mara Region was in 1956. I had been assigned to carry out a brief ecological reconnaissance of the Serengeti National Park under the sponsorship of the Wildlife Management Institute and the American Committee for International Wild Life Protection (Talbot, 1956).

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

Their
233 livestock, described below, consist of herds of cattle,
[230] sheep, goats and donkeys. The Masai way of life
revolves around the grazing and water requirements of
their livestock.

641
561 Their principal units of social organization, as
they affect this discussion, are sections, age grades,
649 villages, and families. Clans have a important place
177 in ethnological discussions and in some areas they
• 192 determine matters such as water rights (Fosbrooke, 1948).
One impression is that throughout Area of Western Masailand
the concept of clans is of more ethnological than
ecological interest. One basic reason for this is the
effect of the Government administration in Western
Masailand.

With the physical and social upheavals
in both Kenya and Tanganyika from the 1890's through
about 1920, the establishment of African District
Councils (District-wide governing bodies), creation of
the park and conservation units, and future development
projects, the clan and other social ties have been
greatly disrupted. Grant (1954, 1957 describes this
effect for some details that are about to the former
boundaries of the Serengeti National Park.
[i.e. the Masai. - Analyst]

warriors also carry a narrow oval shield made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a wooden frame, and painted with insignia including the warrior's age grade and clan.

Originally during the period of warriorhood the moiyani were not expected to do any work except fight. They lived in a separate village, called a manyatta, and were generally taken care of by the unmarried girls of the tribe. Discipline was reputed to have been extremely good. The warriors had older advisors whom they obeyed.

Game were hunted to obtain feathers for ornaments, buffalo and giraffe for shields, and lion for the highly prized mane. Traditionally the moran was expected to bleed his spear on a lion. The dramatic Masai lion hunts are famous (Simon, 1961). At present warfare and lion hunting are illegal. The absence result in a large body of young men with absolutely nothing to do for a period of up to 15 years of what could be the most energetic period of their lives. They tend the livestock some, but much of the time there is nothing for them to do. As a consequence discipline is breaking down. The elders apparently have much less influence or control over the moran than they did

777 previously. There is a considerable amount of raiding
• 778 to steal stock from surrounding tribes. This precipitated
229 several minor wars when we were there, and administrative
541 action prevented one major war with thousands of combatants.
705 Some lions are still killed, and the morani have been
712 bleeding their spears on a variety of other animals,
most notably rhinos.

541 Following the period of service as warriors,
each age class goes through another ceremony. Two
age classes, a right hand and left hand together, take
the ceremony and they then receive another age grade
name which they retain the rest of their lives. Thus
these elder age grades each span a period of about 15
years (Grant, 1907).

777 Periodically the administration has tried
778 to discourage the moran system. In late years some of
541 the elders have also tried to change the system in
order to maintain better control over the young men.
The system still continues in Western Masailand
but it is much less regular than previously.

541 When a warrior becomes circumcised he may
593 take his mother with him to the warriors' manyatta, or he
591 may leave her home or apparently even stay home himself.

362 entered in and under the dung in to shelter to a great
flow and virtually impossible to get out.

363 Mossi also sometimes abandon a home, or
at least the house involved, if a person dies in it.

364 People who are very seriously ill are removed from the
home at least during the day, often to a small shade
home with a shelter constructed nearby. They may remain
there at night also. It was difficult to learn much
definite about this practice. A disabled person spending
the night outside a home is very likely to end up
inside a hyena. The abbé Labouret favors an idea
(1931) efficient method of disposal and consequently the Mossi
have become reticent to talk about it. The sick persons'
homes that we saw looked to have been occupied nights
as well as days.

365 Foods Traditionally the Mossi are supposed to
survive entirely on blood and milk (Tauxier, 1912). In
Western Mossiland the Mossi also produce of grain
(maize mostly), milk, meat, and occasionally blood. The
365 grain and sometimes grain are eaten by the women and locusts
366 white. The milk is collected in large calabashes. These
367 calabashes, often colored and sometimes carefully
368 decorated with beads, are shown as much a symbol of the
369 Mossi as the entire existence or cloaks, horse spears and
370 tall stools.

herd. Each herd was stopped several hundred yards from the water hole. The herds were entered in the order of seniority, the first herd moving up to the hole, small groups drinking as above, then leaving and the place taken by the next herd.

Numbers of Animals: The emphasis of the Masai is on numbers of animals, not on quality, and certainly not on any balance between numbers of animals and range productivity. The animals represent wealth to the Masai owner. Goats, sheep, and occasionally cattle are traded for goods or sold. A certain number of cows are required for milk production. Beyond that, however, the Masai appear to regard cattle as a combination of status symbol, bank account, and object of reverence. The more cattle they have the better, and they see no point in selling cattle or trying to upgrade the cattle for that purpose. They do appreciate good livestock. Young boys often have a steer which they raise from a calf. They attach great importance to the condition of this animal. Drought, wealth and status appear to be measured in terms of numbers of cattle, whatever their condition. Any effort to reduce these numbers seems to them a crime to destroy their way of life.

To reduce these declining factors mentioned

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

herd. Each herd was stopped several hundred yards from the water hole. The herds were watered in the order of arrival, the first herd moving up to the hole, small groups drinking as above, then leaving and its place taken by the next herd.

Numbers of Animals: The emphasis of the Masai is on numbers of animals, not on quality, and certainly not on any balance between numbers of animals and range productivity. The animals represent wealth in the broad sense. Goats, sheep, and occasionally cattle are traded for goods or sold. A certain number of cows are required for milk production. Beyond that, however, the Masai appear to regard cattle as a combination of status symbol, bank account, and object of reverence. The more cattle they have the better, and they see no point in selling cattle or trying to upgrade the cattle for that purpose. They do appreciate good livestock. Young boys often have a steer which they raise from a calf. They attach great importance to the condition of this animal. Still, wealth and status appear to be measured in terms of numbers of cattle, whatever their condition. Any effort to reduce these numbers seems to them a scheme to undermine their way of life.

In former times the limiting factors mentioned

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

above made it difficult to assess large herds for any long period of time. The cattle numbers probably fluctuated greatly, depending on factors such as disease and drought. The English administration has provided excellent veterinary services, all but eliminating most diseases. They have provided water holes in otherwise dry areas to spread the grazing pressure. Predators have been killed wherever they molest Masai livestock. Cattle raiding has been considerably reduced, and in Western Masailand most of the raiding is by Masai augmenting their herds from neighboring tribes, rather than vice versa.

With the other natural limiting factors largely removed and no artificial ones imposed in their place there has been nothing to stop the increase in herds but the carrying capacity of their rangelands.

In Narok District, for example, in April 1956 the cattle population was about 330,000 head (Dept. Vet. Services, 1956). By April 1958 the population had risen to about 378,000 head (Ibid.), and in May of 1960 it was reported at 450,000 head (Mann, 1960). This represented an increase of over 36 per cent in four years.

A233
231 We had the feeling, however, that donkeys just as other
SEP livestock are a measure of success and security, and regardless of the need some donkeys would be maintained.

*236 These donkeys are small animals whose weight
231 is probably less than half that of a wildebeest (i.e.
A233 under 200 pounds). They are quite independent. We often saw the small herds of donkeys leave a boma unheeded and go to a water hole, then graze back to the boma. This practice probably would not be followed in areas where predators were common, but in the peripheral areas it appeared to be the rule.

* 178 Large numbers of donkeys appear to have been
231 the rule for some time. Jealous in a general discussion
A233 of East Africa in 1938 referred (p.81) to the "Masai, who graze immense herds of cattle, small stock, and especially donkeys..."

A233
FL Pasture
231 The Masai burn grass whenever it is dry enough
F24 to ignite. The reasons they give for burning include the following: It produces a flush of new grass that is particularly palatable, nutritious and easily available for their livestock. It clears the woody growth and makes new grazinglands. It clears or reduces ticks, tsetse fly, and disease.

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In aggregate, the animals killed by the above factors -- predation, disease and accidents -- do not make over the numbers of animals that are born into the ungulate population. There must, therefore, be some other limiting factors. In the case of the wildebeests, the age structure of the population (Fig. 48) shows that the greatest mortality is in the calf population during the first few months of life. The mortality here is caused primarily by cows becoming separated from their calves in the milling-about of large herds. This is a function of herd size, the larger the herd the greater the loss of calves. The size of herd is influenced by a complex of environmental conditions, described in detail in Talbot and Talbot, 1963b. Thus, the primary limiting factor in the wildebeest population appears to be environmental, acting through herd size.

It would appear that with other species also, the effective limiting factors involve environmental controls of one kind or another, or, in effect, the carrying capacity of the grassland ecosystem. This is not necessarily a self-regulating system, however. The balance that formerly existed included native hunting. This now has been largely stopped. One result of this protection has been the increase in giraffes. In the

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 327

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1954-1962)1964 FL-12 Maasi FL-12

Rare giraffes have been effectively protected for about 15 years. According to personal accounts, they have increased greatly in numbers. The appearance of the vegetation confirms this belief. The trees preferred by the giraffes have a grazing line about 20 feet up. Practically no green leaves exist below the line, although there are many dead or leafless limbs lower, indicating that in the recent past leaves did grow lower. Almost no reproduction of the preferred trees can be found.

Elephants are another example of a species formerly limited by hunting, and increasing with that cause of mortality removed. They have been protected along the Ewaso Ngiro since about 1958, and by 1968 the increase in their numbers was notable (Kenya Game Dept., 1968). This increase has continued. It is due in part to natural increase within the area, and part to immigration from outside areas where hunting is allowed. Tree destruction by elephants is significant in the area and was obviously increasing.

An increase in the populations of giraffes and elephants is readily apparent because of their obvious impact on the landscape. Such increases on the part of other smaller ungulates would be much harder to detect without periodic accurate censuses. There has only

Glacier growth created the grasslands. Subsequent burning, modified by the grazing of wild ungulates, has somewhat stabilized the invading thorn trees in a thicket or woodland which fills the human made grassland surrounding the thickets, riverine forest and taller woodland. To some extent the invading thorn trees have been cleared from the flats near the watercourses. As described above, such areas tend to support better flora. Most of these areas did have drastic clear changes are frequent.

With the increasing numbers of their livestock, the Masai have tried to clear as much land as possible for pasture. Their extensive burning, plus elephant damage in the more area, has been rapidly reducing the woody vegetation during the past 50 years or so. Their burning has been restricting the range of the tsetse fly in the north. Yet while they are reducing the larger woody growth, the smaller growth such as Acacia tharo is rapidly increasing as many of their grazing lands. So the Ewo Ecosystem their livestock increases in grazing land at the expense of the cedar forest are being cut out by expansion of the land covered by tarchonas bush, which invades overgrazed, undisturbed grassland in cedar forest areas in much the same way Acacia tharo invades lower grasslands.

Ip: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

MAN'S ROLE IN THE GRASSLAND ECOSYSTEM

A 13
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The Masai are not new and probably never have been in a real equilibrium with their environment. Their history as we know it can be interpreted as roughly parallel to a part of the Americans' exploitation of the United States; exploiting a bit of land and then moving on west until there was no more land to the west.

[78] The exploitation of land by the Masai was a [illegible] long term process until the advent of the Europeans. The combination of peaceful administration, veterinary services, and watches have greatly accelerated the rate of exploitation, but they do not appear to have altered the basic processes. The only difference is that this time the Masai have no more land to the west.

It would be interesting to know if this basic lack of equilibrium with the environment was common to other pastoral tribes in Africa and especially those who preceeded the Masai.

As described and discussed above, the grassland ecosystem in Western Kenya[illegible],including the wild fauna, is maintained -- and created -- by a combination of

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M456 FL12

CHAPTER 10

Masai Herds and Mara Lions

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THE Masai have won respect by their contempt for civilization and all that it has offered them. For half a century Europeans have been tempting them with all the material bribes, indeed even non-material ones, for which every Bantu and Nilotic people is avid. There is scarcely an African of the fat lands who would not sell his soul for a school certificate. The Masai have rejected school certificates with a proud and lofty disdain.

Will a certificate fatten a bullock or swell the belly of a cow? Masai hearts are with their cattle; they desire no finer destiny for a son than to walk in the dust of a larger herd than his father's. The young man who dreams of glory sees fine white bulls and brindled cows and green grass knee-high. He does not see the stone bungalow, the shining motor-car, the well-cut suit, the framed diploma so alluring to his darker fellow-countrymen. He likes to wear his hair in matted pigtails smeared with red ochre and rancid butter, to stand with one foot against the other knee, to eat a compound of bullock's blood and curdled milk, to carry his long spear and to keep his women in their heads and rolls and fly-infested mud burrow as his ancestors did—those ancestors whose lion head-dresses and painted shields filled the hearts of inner breeds with terror, and won the right of conquest over the steppes of eastern Africa from their northern Somali deserts to their southern tsetse bush.

For the Masai have pride, and pride is a quality we recoil from in ourselves and hold admirable, hold displeasing in others. An Englishman today must stamp with the hob-nail boots of equality upon the little shoots of pride that cannot help but spring up in his heart; but when he sees the fine, free growth of it in others, an envious respect attacks him. For